1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

consumption, all of which are stored in the capacious jars.'

At Sulleymaniah, the Kurdish capital, the better sort of houses are square, one-storied buildings, standing on a basement about three feet high, and built of sun-dried bricks with a plastering of mud mixed with chopped straw. The interiors of the principal rooms are lime-washed, and the flat roofs are formed of rafters covered with reeds and a coating of earth. Round the house is a walled enclosure, divided into two courts by a cross-wall, which joins the house at each end near its centre, leaving the front, which is the *selamlik*, in one court, and the back, the *harimlik*, in the other. The gardens consist in great part of leafy lawns shaded by willows, poplars, and mulberry trees, which, with rose-bushes, are disposed in little clumps, and watered by a stream which has its source in the mountains. The chief apartment is the *talar*, a room quite open to the air in front, and used in warm weather as a general sitting and sleeping room by the family. Only the poorest persons sleep on the roofs of their houses. Some, in the greatest heats, which last only a month, sleep in *takardaks*, or hovels, over the tanks in the courts, or in tents, to escape from the fleas, which are said to be even more formidable here than in the rest of Turkey. In the *selamlik* is also a large spacious hall, dimly lighted, and used as a cool retreat in summer. The winter rooms are approached by a long, dark passage.

[1] Xenophon, in his *Anabasis*, or Account of the Ten Thousand, mentions that the Kurdish boys their wives in ornamental elevators, bk. iv. chap. 5.

CHAPTER III

THE MERCANTILE CENTER

The mountainous character of the Rowandiz region, its many peaks and gorges, acts to limit the amount of arable land. It would be difficult to estimate the actual extent of the land which might be brought under cultivation, but it could only be a smaller part of the entire area. Wide, level stretches of land are to be found, such as the plains about Heine or Spreu, but many other holdings are no more than strips cut into hillsides or cliffs. On the other hand, in the absence of mineral exploitation or industry, a high percentage, perhaps 80%, of the population is directly engaged in agriculture or animal husbandry, and the productive wealth of the district is almost wholly derived from these two pursuits.

Game is not abundant, and hunting and fishing cannot be said to add any important supplement to the food supply. In the town of Rowandiz itself there are four professional fishermen and a hunter, but their activities are seasonal, and they have additional employment. Thus, the long-horned mountain goat, an unusual animal living [illegible], with [illegible] swelling skins and horns are exhibited as trophies by local businessmen. In accordance with Quranic prescription, if such game is to be eaten, it must be bled while still "alive," after having been brought down with a rifle. The local

Fig. 1. New huts in front of the mountain of Kurikoma.

The gathering (harvest) and Shipping

conditions the siting of the villages. Some steep inter-chasm in a mountain fragments support the forest use of woods. Watercourses and springs are developed to form basins for the drinking of water and for washing purposes. Irrigation canals lead across the fields of vegetables and cultivars. In digging these canals mattocks (E.239) and iron ploughs are used. The latter are worked by two men. The iron plough was seen to be used by the Lower Ainu on the cultivated rice fields. Around the villages the Tsuguma and Sakawa grow gardens, orchard trees, a few orchard and fig trees. The hill sides have additional gardens, of low soil. Above their villages the Ainu cultivate the crop of which is used for cake and wheat in cakes. Among the villages of Kaigishi, Sakkoro and Shimbo, which have fertile valleys are big fruit plantations with plums, apricots and cherries. The plantations surround the whole village,

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

APPENDIX I: Land use.

According to the Kurdish farmers, there are three classes of land for wheat and barley crops; the same field, differently treated, belonging in any of these three classes:

(1) *Wushka wared* (dry land). Old fields or new land is plowed once in the winter, while it is raining. In the middle of the spring it is plowed again, after which it is left fallow all summer, during which time it grows over with a scatter of weeds. When the farm work is finished in the fall, the field is plowed again, the seed is spread by hand, and the field is cross-plowed. Ideally, it should be plowed over even once more, but few farmers have the time and animals to invest in that. This is the best kind of land, and gives by far the best yield. The work should be finished before the winter rains set in, so the fields get the full benefit from them. In the spring, the crops also resist the locust better, since the plants have grown relatively large before the locusts appear.

(2) *Mee wared*. A simplified form of *wushka wared*, in which the farmer for some reason has not done spring plowing (the farmer was sick, his oxen sick, occupied with too much other work, too little winter rains, etc.). The fields are thus plowed once in the winter, and then left fallow till next autumn. When the rains set in, the seed is spread (in spite of a considerable stand of grass and weeds in the field), and the field is plowed once over, in consequence of which most of the weeds die. This is not as good as *wushka wared*, but better than

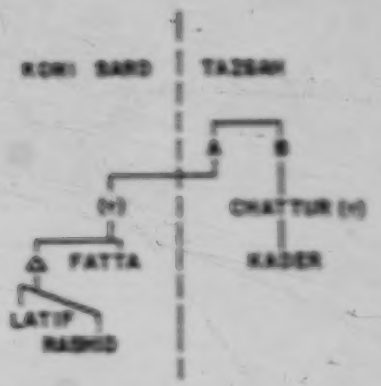
(3) *Terra kal* (wet, immature), in which the field is *not* given a fallow year. The farmer waits for the first winter rains. After the earth is soaked, the field is plowed once. Some times the seed is spread and the field is cross-plowed as soon as possible. A better procedure is to wait for more rains, some 20 days or so, and then seed and cross-plow. In the meantime, some of the grasses and other wild plants will have revived and resumed growing; these now become weeded out. Most of the work connected with *terra kal* is done in the middle of the winter, in rain, sleet, or even snow, and involves considerable discomfort. Furthermore, the plants being later to develop, they suffer more from locusts; and the fertility of the land

is reduced from not being given a fallow year. The same field can not be used as *terre dal* for any longer period of time.

Essentially, then, the pattern is one of alternate year fallow and alternate year grain crop. Since no other major crop is raised on this type of dry, un-irrigated land, any pattern of rotation is impossible. Cow dung, being a major source of fuel, is not available as fertilizer. The customary plowing, in addition to making the land able to absorb and retain the moisture of the winter rains, should also be useful in building up the humus by burying the weeds that develop.

APPENDIX B: A conflict involving revenge.

The classic approximation to an actual bloodfeud which I observed in progress was concerned with the rights to land, and involved a small lineage which finds itself split between the two villages Tazgah and Kosi Sard, in Hamawand territory. The wronged party being considerably more willing to discuss the situation, the following account may be slightly biased in their favor.



Two brothers, A and B, grandfathers of the present contestants, and both residents of the village of Tazgah, divided their father's land between them. A sold his field to a third person; B's son, Chattur, later bought it. A's son moved to the neighboring village of Kosi Sard, where he worked as a landless laborer. Finally, A's grandson, Fatta, claimed the land back. Chattur, in possession of the land, expressed his willingness to sell; Fatta countered, saying that the crops of the past years were sufficient payment — a not uncommon argument. In the resulting quarrel, Fatta shot Chattur dead.

Kader, the son of Chattur, was then a very small boy, and Fatta was widely known as a competent craftsman, so nothing was done. After killing one more person, unconnected with the present conflict, Fatta became an outlaw.

8: Leach E-S (1954) 1960 NAII Rural NAII
Rowandduz

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[1-22]

to other views, and that the economy of the village will not create the crisis.

Both point to look to this by the fact that all Agha of Sayed [head of the Shemlani], who being a natural aristocracy of Kurdish tribesmen received no Government subsidy, has remained a staple tribesman with few tendencies towards exploitation. However, for from accepting the new order he seems to find the present times extremely prosperous and is eagerly pressing his claims with the Government to have the Shemlani land registered in his own name, so that he can establish his people's claim to be an emigrant in their own right instead of merely a tribe of the Bolik. It seems significant too that the Shemlani, who alone have never had to undergo the economic shock of temporary Government support, appear to be today much the most integrated group in the sociological sense.

One further generalization emerges from this analysis. We noted earlier that of the food consumed by the village, the only items that must be purchased by cash are sugar, tea, coffee and to some extent rice. We noted further that practically the whole of this expenditure was incurred by the Agha in connection with the maintenance of the Sweet House and his own household. Now from our analysis of other forms of cash expenditure we saw that these too fall almost exclusively on the Agha rather than the commoner. The Agha's expenditure thus differs from that of the commoner not only in volume but also very largely in kind. This distortion has important bearings for our further analysis.

- Economic Balance of the Village Community

Of the various village groups in the area here described it is scarcely possible to select any single community as typical, so far as agricultural production is concerned. While all the groups are interested in approximately the same range of products, what might be called the "emphasis of production" varies considerably. The village may specialize in fruit growing, another in wheat, another in tobacco and so on. This differentiation arises partly from geographical considerations - such as altitude, water supply, soil fertility - and partly from the conservative prejudices of the Agha economy. Owing to the increased trading contacts opened up since the coming of the road, and the need to satisfy newly developed wants for imported "luxury" goods the whole structure of the economic organization of these hill people is undergoing very rapid change and readjustment. The individual variations as between different villages at the present time depend in the main upon the degree to which this readjustment to changed external circumstances has already taken place. It should be borne in mind therefore that the synthetic account of this process of change in the following few pages, though valid in general terms of applied to the district as a whole, is not necessarily applicable to any single village community.

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any single village community.

462 The basis of the ordinary Kurdish economy is subsistence level, based on this alone (land), and a meat milk product of the pastoral type (wool), in addition to a rather elaborate process of boiling the whole wheat grain and then grinding it, a sort of imitation boiled rice (wheat) is produced, which in normal part an ordinary grind would be with cereal vegetables or millets. The fundamentals of the food supply are thus wheat and grain. And in fact by far the greater proportion of arable land is devoted to wheat cultivation. Such land is normally worked on an alternate system - one year crop, one year fallow and this rotation is apparently sufficient to maintain the soil in fertility.
263 • 311 (p.43) The supplementary acreage devoted to vegetables such as onions, tomatoes, pumpkins, beetroot, lentils, etc. is very approximately one sixth of the wheat land. For the most part the vegetable acreage requires irrigation.

Though wheat has the largest acreage, rice would undoubtedly be the preferred crop if it could be successfully cultivated. The rice yield is known to roughly thirty times greater than that of wheat for equal areas of cultivation, and the Kurd is well aware of the advantages to be gained by increasing the rice acreage at the expense of the wheat. He would willingly substitute cooked rice (p'lau) for the meal if it could be managed. I discussed this matter to some extent with the British Assessor of Arbeel and it was clear that he was firmly under the impression that the acreage devoted to rice in Kurdistan was the maximum the irrigation system would stand, and this was probably the case, though the irrigation was in fact very scientifically arranged.

A third cereal grows only in small quantities in winter.

As things are at present, the cereal production is barely adequate for the needs of the local community and there can certainly be no exports. In fact most of the lower portions additional supplies of rice from outside are on to be also always to serve p'lau, to their general turnout of meat.

437 In former times this have sold sufficiency to provide produce
439 are no great strain on the economics of the community. The conditions had to be reportedly alarming was almost entirely locally produced, and trade requirements were limited to a small range of metal goods and certain luxuries such as tea and sugar. But as has

* In the villages around Sangsha there is an exceptional acreage devoted to the cultivation of seed, which appears to be a kind of lentils, but the particulars of these land is here correspondingly reduced. In this area presumably most of the seed crop is traded.

8: Leach E-S (1958) 1960 MAII Rural MAII
Rwanda

Effects of an Increase in Tobacco Cultivation

276 499 The Sala are horticultural cultivators and have cultivated their own variation of tobacco for several centuries. Though these particular varieties are still the preferred ones for the Sala themselves, they have little or no trade value owing to the woodly nature of the leaf. In recent years however a number of modern cigarette factories have been started in and around Saphiel, thus creating a good market for a better class leaf. In the main this market is satisfied by the more sophisticated Sundish grown weed on Estatemark, but the Sala people of the Kampina District are also slowly beginning to adapt their production to the new conditions. In this they receive encouragement from the Government and the factory owners who supply free seed and instruction to those who wish (by this service by the Government is of course more than recouped by the ultimate return on the resulting product.

• 512 299 Sala views are conditioned the improved tobacco leaf has a much higher proportionately yearly in excess of that of wheat or rice. In terms of a cash economy it would be possible to increase the area of land devoted to the production of tobacco at the expense of that devoted to wheat and rice.

Furthermore since, other things being equal, the area of tobacco cultivation would again only be limited by the supply of irrigation water available, the logical thing to do would be to shelve the rice cultivation altogether and substitute tobacco, both on the rice land itself and also on much of the wheat land - [tobacco requiring less water than rice]. This development has actually taken place in certain of the lowland villages, notably in the Kampina community round Bafou, and the resulting financial advantage has been very marked; but in the Bafou area the increase in tobacco acreage seems so far to have been very slight. In the highest villages such as Ekalua and Ingoh climatic conditions are probably unfavourable, but lower down in the valleys around Bango and Kampina where tobacco and rice are at present grown side by side there seems to be no immediate technical reason why the former crop should not be expanded. There would of course be certain difficulties in connection with the re-organisation of the water courses, and there is the problem of specialist training in tobacco cultivation but in the main it would appear that the problems involved are social rather than technical. If it were possible for every individual tenant to grow tobacco in exact proportion the transition to a modern cash economy might be simple. But in practice the existing tenancy rights are such that any extension of the tobacco cultivation must affect temporally different sections of the community - those whose land is suitable to the new cultivation benefiting at the expense of the rest. We may analyse the problem in economic form in terms of the factors of production involved.

626 Land. The land potentially available for tobacco cultivation

Land. The land probably available for future cultivation"

In roughly speaking all the arable land that can be effectively irrigated - the extent being limited both by the configuration of the land and the available water supply. Here immediately there are complications. The irrigation system as at present arranged may serve a number of purposes 349 312 421

1. Irrigation of rice cultivation - which in most villages appear to be a personal plot pertaining to the Agha alone and not a tenant's holding in the ordinary sense.
2. Periodic irrigation of the vegetable gardens. In any re-organisation this would have to be maintained.
3. Periodic irrigation of existing tobacco areas.
4. In some villages (e.g. Dergala) for driving the mill, which is owned either by the Agha himself or a near relative.

Any reorganisation of such a system would affect a number of different individuals whose immediate interests may be directly conflicting. The Agha for instance is hardly likely to abandon his rice plot which is his personal property merely to provide his tenants with water to grow tobacco; but on the other hand if he reserves the whole of the tobacco cultivation for himself the tenants whose land is interfered with will have a justifiable grievance. It might well be found in fact that in any particular village the rearrangement of the water supply so as to provide a greater tobacco acreage would in practice involve a completely new allocation of land holdings to all the inhabitants, a reform which would certainly be very difficult to carry out. It may be significant that in Sorao where such a re-organisation of cultivation has in fact been brought about the irrigable tobacco plots are systematic in the extreme and there was no old established system of tenancy rights supported by an ancestral tradition.

A further question of interest in the problem of "marginal" land. It is true that the land configuration, somewhat similar to that of the Alpine villages of the Bavarian Tirolean, sets a definite limit to the area that can be cultivated, but on the other hand there does to be a number of small marginal areas, at present under scrub, which might be brought into cultivation if the available water were more efficiently utilised and the scrub terraces were sufficient to repay the extra labour involved. The 'rights' over such reclaimed land must at present conveniently with the Agha. 929 311

Labour. The labour available to the labour of the tenant cultivators and their families; it would seem that the substitution of tobacco for cereals would affect the balance rather than the volume of work required. Since the present system the chief harvest comes in 441 311

B: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 Hall Rural Hall
Rewarded

Land Ownership, House Construction and Stability

The indications are that land ownership are for the most part an fully utilized on present technical equipment permits the amount of cultivated land that could be brought into cultivation merely by an increase in economic inducement to work.

Except on the sandiest country where thicker where conditions are too severe, there is sufficient incentive for land to sufficiently level to work a plough, and where shallow permits cultivation such as vines are carried far up into the steep hill face. Since there is clear evidence that the land supplies grain are only barely adequate for the needs of the community it may be postulated that the existing population approximates to the maximum that can be supported by the present economic system.

Land ownership supply seems the most plausible explanation for the very uniform form of settlement adopted in this region. The villages are always constructed on a steep hill which would have no possible agricultural utility. They are not constructed on the top of the hill as defence considerations might seem to suggest but on the side of it immediately above the level plough land at the bottom of the valley. Sometimes on an incline and on layer the houses are clustered together in an almost solid block elsewhere they are grouped into a number of individual clusters, the cohesion of these visible structures seeming to bear some correlation with the degree of kinship ratio within the village as can be seen from photograph B. Often houses in a particular cluster are frequently built one above the other in a series of terraces so that the roof of one house forms the front porch of the one below. The house block shown in the photograph was occupied by two brothers and their families. These occupied the two top buildings. The lower building though also originally a dwelling house was at the time of my visit being used as a store house for both families. And this is an exceptional case; a single block of buildings such as this is usually found to be occupied by a group of near relations functioning for the most part as a joint economic group. In view of the obvious inconvenience of such close proximity to social kinship is obtained. If however economic developments of the future tend to accentuate the rights of the individual as opposed to those of the kinship group we may expect the supplementary development of a more individualistic style of architecture. On the other hand the existing type of joint dwelling house is a factor which considerably may affect on the part of the kin to recognise the claims of land tenure and cultivation on lines of greater efficiency.

The map suggests perhaps that in the plains where the main agricultural emphasis is upon wheat production and where the intensive of water supply naturally affect the whole economic organisation of the community, not only the arrangement of the villages but the actual architectural construction of the houses is totally different from that of the hill districts. Each houses appears only to the villages of the

B: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

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Kur

entirely that there will be any serious modification of the existing type of plough, at any rate in the hill country.

Threshing

For threshing the hill people use an instrument of which the spikes are merely nailed round and round on the picket stave until the whole is reduced to a fine chaff and the straw then skimmed with a fork in a light wind (see photographs). The process of threshing takes an immense time, often lasting from July to late October; any drastic change in the economic progress of the village - such as a switch over from corn to tobacco - must on I here deem be dependent on the extent to which this process of threshing can be speeded up.

A circumstance that I find very puzzling is that throughout the plains area, - where the wheat harvest is very large - use is made of a relatively advanced "threshing machine". This consists of a large drum sled (see photograph) to the underside of which is attached a rotating set of metal blades for shaving up the chaff. The apparatus is very simple and not, one would have thought, unduly expensive. But the curious fact remains that this device is not found in the hill country around Rowanduz at all, though the advantages seem to me well known to all.

The only explanation I could get was that in the hill country the wheat production was not great enough to make the more efficient method worth while; the argument seemed to be that as long as the threshing got finished before the rains came in October it was good enough. Whatever the real reason it seems likely that there must be some modification of existing threshing methods if there is ever any natural extension of the wheat cultivation.

Land Utilization

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Kur

The actual layout of the cultivation is primarily determined by the topography of each individual village. Wheat, tobacco, fruit and vegetable cultivations are permanently sited, their position being determined by the layout of the irrigation system. The wheat on the other hand is worked on a two year cycle as noted already. The diagram [illegible] roughly the layout of cultivation in Palwah at the time of my visit. It will be noted that all the fallow land is on one side of the stream and all the [illegible] wheat strip on the other. Nothing corresponding to this neat symmetry could be observed in the other villages I visited. It explains the fact however that the holdings of individual cultivators are not necessarily all in one piece; - in Palwah obviously each working group must have approximately an equal area of land on either side of the stream. I thought at first that there might be some system of rotating land to different individuals sometimes in successive years but my informants

[illegible]

8: Leach E-S (1958) 1940 MAII Kurd MAII
Rowanduz

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

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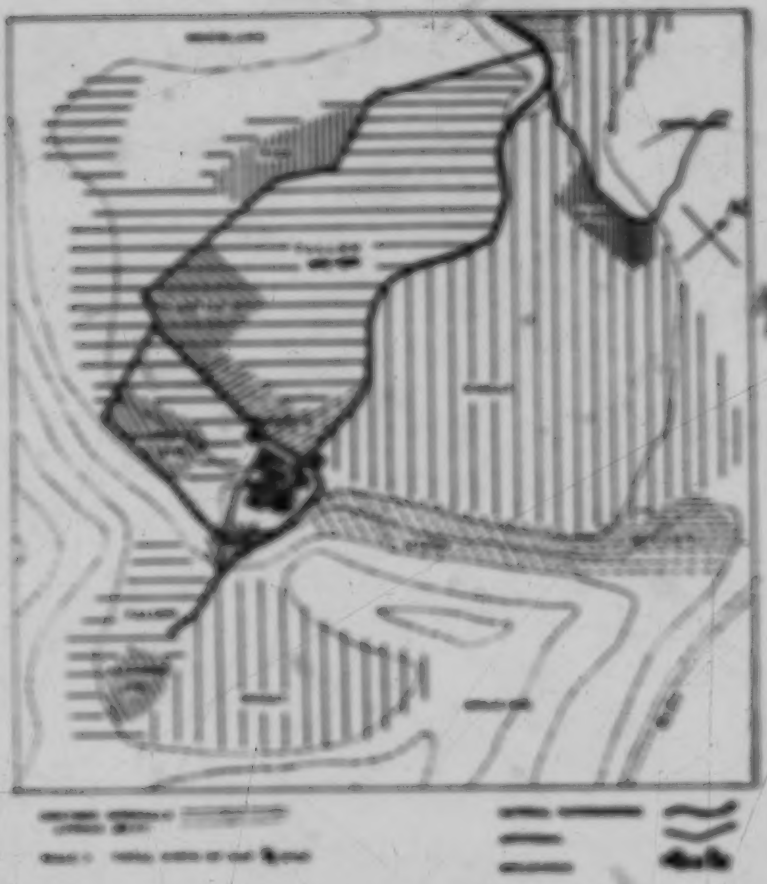

LAND UTILISATION

BALADH VILLAGE SUMMER 1938

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View to the Amadiya Plain, one of the villages in which the semi-nomadic Kandi live, and home to

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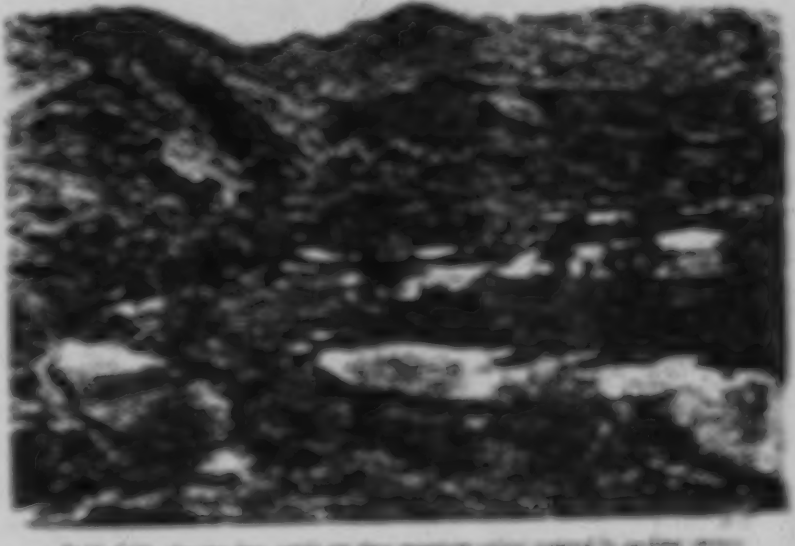

Middle field, showing how ploughs are often manoeuvred to avoiding ploughing

[5 7]